CLARIFYING THE NEWS

By Louise Harding

Guatemala Shows Up the Hypocrites:

June 19, at the UN, Guatemala charged that Honduras and Nicaragua (financially controlled by U.S. capital) with "open aggression and demanded that the "UN" Security Council discuss the situation immediately. At first, Lodge, the Council's president for June, turned down this request for an extraordinary week-end meeting, and postponed the hearing till Monday, the 21st. However, on the insistence of Guatemala's delegate, the Council was summoned for the 20th.

From Guatemala the foreign minister charged that open defenseless cities in his country were being bombed; and he said that Honduras made no effort to restrain the revolutionary forces which assembled in that country and subsequently crossed the border into Guatemala. He cabled to Lodge, attacking the United States and speaking of "international provocateurs" and "foreign monopolies". President Arbenz, in a radio address, said:

"Our crime is that of agrarian reform against imperialist-owned companies. Our crime is that we patriotically seek economic independence. Communism does not exist in these endeavors."

The State Department (AP) denounced as baseless a charge by what it called the Red-influenced Guatemalan government that its strife-torn country is a victim of "aggression". A statement issued by the Department took the position that the uprisings are "a revolt of Guatemalans against the government." It said that Ambassador Peurifoy had "confirmed" that there had been no bombings or strafings by planes in the Guatemala City area. But the time of Peurifoy's dispatch was not given and AP correspondent Jack Rutledge reported from Guatemala that a lone fighter strafed Guatemala City's airport and had bombed a small community outside the capital. President Arbenz said a three-year-old child was injured in Guatemala City; he also charged that the invaders machine-gunned a girls' school at Chiquimula.

A State Department spokesman said that the weapons supplied to Nicaragua and Honduras were given under a military defense agreement and that they were not intended for the revolutionists.

The main force of the invaders was moving into Guatemala from Honduras, reported AP and UP.

House Democratic Whip John W. McCormack, from the Roman Catholic parish of Boston, claimed: "The great majority of the people in Guatemala are vigorously opposed to Communism," and, he added, "I have been expecting some such action for some time."

Quite probably!

Colonel Armas, head of the invaders, is shown in press cuts wearing a genuinely-Hitlerian mustache, very appropriately, since the documents published by the Guatemalan government, Jan. 29, 1954, implicated Nicaragua, the Dominican "Republic", El Salvador, Panama, Venezuela, plus "the government of the North", i.e., USA.

Spruille Braden, chief of public relations for United Fruit Company, incited the attack (March 12, 1953) by attacking Guatemala as "a beachhead for international communism" and asserting that the suppression of the country "even by force" from the outside "would not constitute an intervention in the internal affairs" of Guatemala.

U.S. State Department issued a protest against the taking over, at the price fixed by United Fruit for taxation purposes, of large tracts of unused land, even though farms up to 670 acres are exempted if two-thirds cultivated, and lands belonging to the Guatemalan President and Foreign Minister were not excepted.

NY Times correspondent Sydney Gruson wrote (Feb. 23, 1953):

".....there is a tendency to lose sight of the fact that if there had not been a single Communist in Guatemala, the revolutionaries who overthrew dictator Jorge Ubico still would have insisted on the present

program, including a new labor code, social security and agrarian reform, that is generally condemned as Communist-inspired."

The so-called "Security" Council, at its meeting June 20, called unanimously for a cease-fire in Guatemala and for all UN members to withhold aid from the fighting forces there. The Soviet Union vetoed a motion to refer Guatemala's complaint to the completely U.S.-dominated Organization of American States, with headquarters at Washington. Whereat, Lodge shouted angrily,

"I say to the Soviet delegate: Stay out of the western hemisphere. Don't try to start your plans and conspiracies here."

He wanted to know by what right Russia, "thousands and thousands and thousands of miles away" from the scene, acted to prevent the question being submitted to U.S. and satellites.

The Soviet delegate charged that U.S. had "prepared this armed intervention" and that American senators and State Department officials had personal interest in United Fruit. As a member of the Security Council, Tsarapkin had every legal right to interpose a veto. It will be remembered that, in the case of Korea, the complaint of U.S. reaction was that by remaining away from the Security Council (on account of the seating of the rump Chiang "government's" delegate), Russia showed her complicity in the starting of the war. Peculiar logic, but it seemed to get by.

And, if Russia may be supposed to have no interest in distant Guatemala, what was the United States doing in Korea?

The Guatemalan degelate demanded that the Security Council send a fact-finding mission to his country to investigate. "No Council member put forward a resolution to this effect, however, so there was no action.

The rebels paid no attention to the admonition of the UN to cease fighting, but by the 24th, the headline in the papers was, "Guatemalan Rebel Drive Bogs Down". Bad weather, their spokesman claimed, but by the 27th, AP said, "Leaflet barrages have failed to rally Guatemalan peasants behind the rebel campaign." Wages for farm workers had doubled after the laborers got their own land.

On the 23rd, UP reported fighting along the railway line, in the Montagua river valley, "described by the National Geographic Society as one of the richest on earth". Yet, under the benign rule of the United Fruit Co., all workers had been forbidden to organize. The peasants were almost wholly illiterate and victimized by superstition. In what schools there had been, the children were too weak from under-feeding to profit by instruction. Now under the liberal regime the budget for education is 15%, as against 11 for defense.

June 23, Guatemala urgently appealed for a second extraordinary session of the Security Council, to discuss continuing aggression. Lodge had the audacity to say:

"In fact, as it is, many persons will wonder whether the whole imbroglio in Guatemala was not cooked up precisely for the purpose of making Communist propaganda here in the United Nations.

"The fact that it has become increasingly plain that the situation in Guatemala is clearly a civil - and not an international - war makes it even more appropriate that the Security Council should not intervene further."

And what about USA intervening in 1950, in Korea, in a civil war?

In his complaint, renewed today, Castillo Arriota (AP) charged once more that the invasion was coming from bases in Honduras and Nicaragua.

June 25, the "Security" Council refused to consider intervention, U.S. having contended that such intervention "could destroy both the UN and the Organization of American States." (UP)

By a 5 to 4 vote with two abstentions the council refused to adopt an agenda containing Guatemala's demand for action against Honduras and Nicaragua for "aiding" the insurgents in its country. Against the agenda: U.S., Brazil, Colombia, Nationalist "China" and Turkey. For: Russia, Lebanon, Denmark, New Zealand. Britain and France abstained.

In San Mateo Times, June 22, Charles M. McCann, UP staff correspondent, writes: "Whatever happens in Guatemala in the immediate future, it ay be taken for granted that the United States will not rest until Red nfluence in Guatemala has been eliminated."

Guatemala has no Communists in its Cabinet; its Congress has 4 Communists out of 56. Samuel Guy Inman, strongly anti-Communist, says ("A ew Day in Guatemala", p. 47):

"....in comparison with the program of Labor in Great Britain and the ew Deal in the United States, Guatemala reforms were a mild shade of pink. ut the little country in Central America has so long been the happy hunting ground for economic exploiters that they took advantage of the fear of ommunism to challenge any change from the old economic slavery."

It seems that now, according to the report of President Arbenz to Congress, March 1, 1954, "there are some peasants who have had net incomes of ore than $1,000 during the first year of the agrarian reform." -- High reason to United Fruit.

In San Francisco Chronicle ("This Week" section), June 17, is a very lluminating article by a Roman Catholic priest, named Sebastian Buccellato ho was expelled from Guatemala for his opposition to the government-initited reforms. This individual writes that he "watched a handful of powerad men in Asuncion Mita execute a clever Communist plan and take our town and the country - away from its citizens." --And whom did they give the and to, Buccellato?

The priest was indignant, he says, and spoke to his parishioners against the immorality of Communism".

"When I came to Mita in October 1951, I found it as I had pictured it hot, colorful, and poverty-ridden," Buccellato says. "Three quarters of he 35,000 Spanish-Indian ladinos I administered to in the area were landess and illiterate. ....They had little use for politics. Governments ame and went without stirring these honest, simple people.....Then in une, 1952, our town was shaken from its slumber. What happened in Mita ook place simultaneously throughout Guatemala. The National Congress assed the Agrarian Reform Law and before long, I was witnessing the alost complete Communization of Asuncion Mita."

A "semi-literate Communist" was brought in, Vavar by name, and "He expropriated uncultivated land from the finqueros and paid them in worthless 5-year bonds. Armed with land the peasants have dreamed of for centuries, e and his cohorts went into the interior, where they were warmly greeted y the impoverished tenant farmers."

"The Communist bribe was still tempting, but I felt strongly that hristianity could give it competition. We redoubled our religious effort. Those parish members who were offered land on Vivar's terms asked y opinion. Naturally I told them that Communism and Christianity are rreconcilable. A few peasants, of course, accepted his offer and left he parish. But with the help of 35 lay catechists, who toured the countryside, most all our members remained true and turned down the Communist ffer. I had done nothing political, but Vivar was infuriated.....I ealized that as a Catholic missionary and an American I was doubly vulerable. (Editor's emphasis.)

"Soon after, I curiously approached one of the compesinos who had ccepted Vivar's offer. 'I know nothing of politics, Padre,' he told me, but if getting land is Communism, I guess I am one, too.'

"I couldn't explain how the ruthless Red minority was using land reorm to steal Guatemala out from under him. But what he couldn't understand was obvious to most of the literate Guatemalans."

It must have been a little hard to explain to the peasant how setting im up on a small farm was stealing the country out from under his feet.

Perhaps the following quotation from Matthew, chapter 25, may throw ome biblical light on the situation: Then shall He say to them on the eft hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for he devil and his angels; for I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink.....

Boomerang in South America:

In Chile, the Chamber of Deputies, voted 34 to 15, to protest to th U.S. House of Representatives against the invasion. AP dispatch from Sa tiago, Chile, says Chilean students shouting pro-Guatemala slogans burne the American flag in downtown Santiago June 19. Youths of seven politic parties, ranging from left-wing Socialists to Conservative Social Chris- tians, shouted "unite our forces and close our ranks to defeat the aggre sion against Guatemala".

The Uruguayan Chamber of Deputies also approved a resolution condem ing the aggression, and students held an orderly demonstration. At a st dents' demonstration in Tegucigalpa, denouncing the Honduran government' complicity in the invasion, although press dispatches say there was no a parent provocation, the police opened gunfire and wounded seven persons. This is the sort of "democracy" U.S. is allied with.

In Mexico City, June 23, seven students put a funeral wreath "in me ory of the good neighbor policy" at the door of the U.S. Embassy.

In San Francisco Chronicle, Royce Brier says the rebels are fightin "for Guatemalans whose liberties have been suppressed, whose businesses have been harassed, and whose lands have in some cases been expropriated by the Arbenz regime....It is to our interest that the rebels win, or th some rebels win," etc.

The "liberties" that have been suppressed in Guatemala are the libe ties to commit highway robbery. The businesses are "harassed" by threat ening much-needed competition; and the lands have been "expropriated" la fully, being paid for at just what the United Fruit Co. said they were worth. Says Brier: "We want bananas, want to pay a fair price for them and don't want the people who produce them exploited." Rubbish! The ba ana monopoly has been swindling the American people for these many years with outrageous prices. As to not wanting the Guatemalan producers ex- ploited, U.S. consumers have never shown the faintest sign of caring a d what the banana farmers and workers are "paid". This piffle is sickenin

It may be noted that while protests from other countries swell, the trades unions of USA - largely Roman Catholic dominated as they are - ap parently have not a word to say.

Guatemala Another Spain:

Threatened by foreign investors backed up by Washington, the popula ly-elected government of Guatemala sought arms to protect itself. U.S. fused to allow even pistols to be sent in from this country. Guatemala then got Czech weapons. U.S. sent wails to high heaven about "Communist plots", and intercepted foreign ships suspected of carrying more arms. so doing, it was illegally interfering with the just rights of a sover- eign nation.

In this, U.S. parallels its course in the Franco rebellion, when it refused weapons for the Spanish Republic and threatened with loss of cit zenship those who went from here to fight for liberty. Due to these un- democratic tactics, and the aid given the fascist forces by U.S. corpora tions (notably General Motors), Hitler and Mussolini won. Washington weakly allowed itself to be influenced against Spain, fighting for her life, by Jesuit outcries that the new government was Communist. In his new, important work, "My Mission to Spain", by Claude Bowers, who was Am bassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939, the reader is reminded that in the 1936 election the Communists got only four per cent of the votes and had no representative in the Cabinet - as Guatemala has none today.

Deductions:

The Guatemalan tragedy reminds us, again, of the futility of the so called "United Nations" organization. In Korea, without a shred of evi- dence, it followed the desires of U.S. reaction and asserted that the North Koreans "invaded" their own country.

Attorney Fyke Farmer has unearthed the interesting fact that the numbers were switched on the documents sent to the Security Council by

e UN Commission on Korea: the truth is that the latest one recommended rther investigation.

While at that time, UN followed, by a few hours, the illegal action Truman in plunging the United States into war in Korea, now we find it fusing to act in the instance of aggression against Guatemala and undis-ted invasion from Honduras.

Even to those most unwilling to face the facts about Korea, the con-ssion of Rhee's minister, Ben C. Limb, should make it clear that the rld was lied to most atrociously. In Guatemala, such falsification is rdly feasible.

The Guatemalan Republic is being strangled, under pretense that it is ed-dominated", when, to repeat, it has only four Communist members out 56 in its Congress. What does that portend for France, with a Nazi-led my being formed in West Germany, and with Franco Spain on another flank: ain has long had Nazi technicians in its midst, working on nuclear wea-ns, and now the United States is helping out. And the British people uld do well to remember that Fascism hates Socialism and Liberalism as ch as it detests Communism. If these countries will not join the counter-volutionary armed forces, Guatemala shows that they may well find them-lves attacked by the enemies of economic democracy. Look at those Com-nist deputies in France!

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PREPARATORY TO EVANSTON

By The Rev. Dr. J. L. Hromadka

(Fragment of a speech at a committee session in Hungary, Feb. 1954)

What about the situation of the churches in Hungary and Czechoslo-kia? First, they are working and serving in a period of historic chang-, immense in extent. The people in these countries are exerting every fort to build a completely new economic, social and political order.

Second, these nations must constantly struggle against those obstacles ich hinder this building, against the remnants of the old order.

Third, our churches, which were more or less connected with the old rld, must fight against these sterile remnants even in themselves. urth, our churches have decided to accept wholeheartedly the new situa-on and to explain the basis and consequences of this decision to the ristians of the world.

And fifth, in recognizing that Christ is the hope of the world we are t blind and indifferent to the hopes which are nurtured in the hearts of r people and all humanity, for which they work and make sacrifices.

We look forward to Evanston. What will take place there? We see two ends in the ecumenical movement. There are unfortunately people who uld like to make it a sort of fortress, so to speak, against the new rces of history, to make them a sort of Maginot Line, or even to under-ke to organize a crusade against what is going on elsewhere in the world.

But there is also a second trend, the essence of which lies in the ideavor to make this movement, and especially the World Conference in anston, an opportunity for self-examination so that we may succeed in eing how God in His everlasting mercy has condescended in Jesus Christ this world to establish His Kingdom and to use His church as an in-rument of His transforming love.

We pray that this second trend may be carried out.

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ANK YOU! ....for your renewals, contributions and letters. An English rson writes, "I wish it could be broadcast to all thinking folk." An ndiana subscriber, "Too bad you can't reach at least a million." ...Only through our readers' sharing the financial burden is it possi-le to carry on. We need your heart-warming letters and what help you an give.

BILLY AND SIN

or

The Churches and Politics

In "Evangelical Christendom", a magazine much weakened since losing editor Gooch, there appears (June, 1954) a sermon by Billy Graham, the famous evangelist. This sermon exhibits Graham as a very poor preacher.

He takes as his text the parable of the Pharisee and the publican going up to the temple to pray and of God justifying the sinning but humbly penitent publican rather than the righteous but smug Pharisee. It is a penetrating parable but Billy muffs it. It doesn't make sense to him and he says so.

Instead of even trying to probe its psychological and religious implications Billy falls back on the old cliches, artificial, commercial, legal, stiff. The life and death of Jesus is turned into a payment of ransom to a God whose human children long ago through the sin of Adam had been abducted by Satan and held for ransom. This ransom, owed to God, is paid for by the blood sacrifice of God's own son. Such a sacrifice by God Himself to His own just demand is big enough to pay for the sins of all men who believe.

Using all possible imaginative compensation, this story, as Billy tells it, is sentimental nonsense. As such it is harmful. No doubt it may relieve for a moment the psychic burdens of a conscience-tormented and frustrated multitude. This is easily understood. It is not due to Billy especially, nor to his message. It is explained partly by the ripeness of the multitude for any message of relief and partly by the hypnotic circumstances of its presentation.

This hypnosis is brought about by the very fact that the message is repeated over and over in the same worn-out words, no change is ever made in the exact phraseology. The message itself, if you can call it a message, keeps strictly off the ground of actuality and therefore out of touch with the Ground of Reality. It is pure fantasy. It is mumbo-jumbo. And the music. And the lights. And the crowds.

All lull the critical faculties and provide a warm, secure and comforting atmosphere in which it becomes a very easy cheap thing to "accept Jesus". Jesus! Who said "Sell what you own," "Take up your cross," "Can you drink the cup that I drink?" "Feed my sheep." "Call no man good," and "Get ye behind me, Satan!"

After the "decision" is taken (hundreds make the decision at every Billy Graham meeting) the converted sinner is taken to a conference room, given "instruction," and is gently herded back into the church from which he has strayed. For Billy's preaching means little or nothing except to backslid Christians for whom the old phrases have a nostalgic appeal. Billy is a Baptist but does not proselytize for any particular church. All the churches benefit from his work, are happy when he comes to town and help him in every way.

Billy (as well as all the more respectable of his fellow evangelists) keeps out of politics except by implication, for of course the effect of his crusade is to confirm and support the status quo. The harm he does is largely involuntary. He simply follows through on the lines of least resistance. He has grown up in the traditional atmosphere of an evangelism of mass hypnosis. Preaching can become a habit-forming drug. The power to move vast crowds is intoxicating. It gets into one's blood like the theatre or the circus, and if it were simply entertainment it wouldn't matter. But it professes to put a foundation under people, to put them right with themselves, to re-adjust their lives, to re-establish their integrity, to give them a reason for being. Does it accomplish any of these things? Very rarely, and by accident. Once in a blue moon a convert may study the Gospel for himself and find the real revolutionary Jesus who is truly an integrating influence.

Sin? Yes, mankind is full of sin and cries out to be liberated from its chains. Sin in Billy's eyes is apparently something he calls immorality and the old stand-by, alcohol. But neither of these is basic sin.

xcesses of sense-indulgence may even be restrained in the interest of more undamental sins, the drive for power, for instance, so that the virtues of estraint may become part and parcel of a deeper and more corroding lust.

Why is it that Billy seldom if ever puts his finger on acquisitiveness, ne of the basic spiritual diseases of our civilization? If he did put his inger on this disease and kept it there, pointing out the festering sores f slum properties owned by churches, of colonial slave-pens on whose mis- ry our church-blessed civilization fattens, of unspeakably cruel and fil- hy wars blessed and supported by these same churches, it is not likely hat he would get quite such a good press or be received with such open rms by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other church dignitaries. In fact t is not likely that he would be allowed out of the U.S.A. at all.

To dwell on the deep truth of religion without being driven into the ntimate pressing needs of actual men and women today is to betray and to eny the deep truth of religion. The greatest lie is the truth kept out of ife. Or the truth diverted into trivial and peripheral concerns.

The truth today is a nasty truth, a bitter truth. But it is medicine hat must be taken all the same. Billy Graham only follows the habit of he church generally in avoiding the medicine, for the church has abandoned he truth.

And the truth has abandoned the church. It has taken up its abode in trange places: The story teller Lu Hsun whose works have wide circulation n Communist China, tells how a rickshaw man helped an old woman who had allen on the road and was hurt. His passenger, a court official, expressed is annoyance and ordered the rickshaw-man to proceed at once. The rick- haw-man paid no attention, but went on helping the hurt woman. Then the fficial, telling about it afterwards said, "Suddenly I experienced a trange sensation. At that instant his (the rickshaw-man's) dusty back eemed to grow larger, and the further he walked the larger he loomed, un- il I had to look up to him. At the same time he seemed gradually to be xerting a pressure on me, which threatened to overpower the small self nder my fur-lined gown."

Here is the deep reality, the truth of life, driving up and breaking he surface of life, making the great small and the small great, re-estab- ishing a broken connection between the ultimate and the immediate. To ut it in old-fashioned theological terms here is the grace of God invading he soul of the arrogant official through the bold action of the rickshaw unner.

But theological terms must be translated today into language which is nderstood by the children of today. And theological language is a bar- ier to understanding when it is associated with demonic and diabolic ac- ion. Commit enough crimes in the name of God and God becomes Devil. Brahma becomes Siva. The Creator becomes the Destroyer. It matters not ow carefully the definitions be drawn. Even the word existentialism, for instance, or even mysticism itself, may become a goat-word, a substi- ute for the cogent facts of existence itself. The word, the theory, in- ricately elaborated, can become a shield against the salients of existence.

These salients are the children in our own glutted country who cry for bread all night and all day until they die; are their parents, caught between the upper and nether millstones of our heartless economy, who de- stroy themselves in bitter desperation. They are shaded portions of the globe where white greed murderously battens on black and brown and yellow flesh. They are Africa and Southeast Asia and Guatemala. And above all our relation to these places, what we are doing to the people in these places.

The cry of the evangelists, the cry of the fundamentalist churches is: A world of saved individuals will be a good world. Therefore save the individual and society will take care of itself. This is a false cry, for an individual cannot grow, cannot integrate, apart from his world. To try to separate him from his world, to "save" him out of his world, is to try to pull him apart, to disintegrate him.

That kind of thinking which, setting world problems and world rela- tionships to one side, tries to preserve or conserve individuals so that they may survive the turmoils of the present and be ready for the tasks

of the future, is a false kind of thinking. The road to salvation, the road to the only survival worth having, is the rough road of participatio in the world upheaval on the side of the rising people.

This is the meaning of the theological term: Baptism. It means immersion in action, in defense of the disinherited, the poor, wherever defensive action can be initiated or carried forward, to become a part of life and no longer apart from life. Those who try to save people apart from life are false guides.

One of the illusions, which lead men to think they are independent individuals and kings of creation which all animal and vegetable life serves and bows down to, is caused by the fact that they are not doomed, as so much of creation is, to stay in one place or even in one element. Moving about of their apparent free will, they imagine that they put no roots down into soil and water of the planet. Yet three times each day they do put their roots into the earth when they eat bread from the wheat which sustains their lives and drink the water of which most of their bodies is made. And one-third of their lives is spent in sleep which is a state in which all the pretensions of consciousness are laid aside and except for dreams the life processes descend into the vegetative level. And every breath they breathe attests their complete dependence on the ai which is as much this planet as is the soil and water.

Man, moving about and making so many of the natural powers of this planet serve his wishes, forgets that he himself is this planet at its point of consciousness. What is arguable about this? Surely it is the plain fact. And since this planet is part of a vast rhythmic system of planets, cosmos and microcosm, man is part and parcel of this universe even as the universe reaches consciousness and knowledge of itself in man Yes, man is a considerable fellow, but only in this setting, in this dependence. In this setting, oned with that which surrounds him, he is mor than considerable, he is a wonderful fellow. Apart from it he disintegrates. Pretending to live and develop apart from it he is tragically ridiculous.

This is his real position, and every attempt of man to transcend his real position has met with tragedy. History is the record of these attempts, when men tried to get above themselves, to build towers of Babel and climb to a place of independence, to climb up on the backs of nature and of their fellowmen, to bully nature and other men, to make empires and to compel natural powers by magic.

History will not be bullied. Yet she must be helped. For she works through men, and sometimes even through proud men who try unduly to haste her processes. On the other hand her greatest enemies are those who try to hold her back. They are those of whom Jesus spoke, who would not ente the realm of reality themselves and who closed the door so that others could not enter. They are the imperialists who will not democratize themselves and who close the doors against their colonies which want to democratize themselves.

Next month the guardians of this insight will meet at Evanston. Yet the chief effect of this great conference of the World Council of Churches will be to obscure this insight and completely to hide it from the world.

Through every panel of this conference will walk the fresh indignant ghost of Guatemala. Yet it is doubtful if anyone will recognize her. She will speak loudly but she will be unheard. For the conference takes place under the protection of the empire which has killed her.

This conference will not grapple firmly with the problem of economics which is the problem of bread. Yet Jesus talked about bread. He put the aspiration towards bread into the only prayer he taught. He fed the people before he preached to them and when he preached he preached communion and unity, brotherhood and community. He cursed the self-conscious ly "nice" people, the living dead, the blind leaders, mouthers of the traditional. Well, it will be surprising indeed if the gathering at Evanston should rid itself of legal phraseology, remote references, displays of erudition, and come right out and identify itself with the life of the people and their struggle for a living communion. It would hardly be ap-

propriate for a Council financed by the beneficiaries of empire to express pity for the rich and to cast its lot with the victims of empire.

This conference will listen politely to the Hungarians and Czechs, if indeed they will be allowed to attend, and may even pass ambiguous resolutions of such a kind as may placate them. But the overall effect of the conference will be to cover with a veil of false religion the scaly monster of neo-fascism.

We fear that the initiative has been wrested from the "sacred" by the "secular" and that it will be some considerable time before it can be regained. This actually means that the churches have been very thoroughly secularized in the sense of made worldly. The "God" they worship is a named thing, not the Unnamed Unnameable. As a named thing he is a closed door. In the face of the embarrassing poor he is a slammed door!

Yet in the name of the true God (not yet pronounced on the lips of his children) the door is being opened. Sometimes burst open!

A new communion is the order of the day. We hope the Hungarians and Czechs will initiate it. A more inclusive ecumenicism. Including so-called secular movements which are informed by the same spirit as that which informed Jesus. Not an ecumenicism of intellectual conciliation but a communion of warm hearts. Not a fitting together of old dry bones but the birth of a new child. Somewhere in the old is the seed of the new. The new communion will be one of mutual instruction and inspiration. Its purpose will be to instruct itself and its neighbors in the spiritual dimension of a collective economy. For without this dimension (explicity discarded by Marx but implicit in his motivation) the collective economy will deteriorate and disintegrate. Yet the collective economy is the natural and inevitable fruit of spiritual communion.

The new Christian must give back what Marx discarded, not primarily as a service to the collective economy but because Communism is, as the Catholic Almanac says, the legitimate child of the Reformation, which was a movement of Christianity towards the new communion we speak of.

Christianity has a fundamental relationship with the whole modern collectivist movement. The two need each other as the root and the fruit. Where the fruit is, there must be the root. Destroy the root and the tree with its fruit will die.

We need a new Christianity, which is the oldest Christianity, working in these latter days. We need a new communion. We need the God beyond all Gods, beyond all human pictures of God, the whip and the lure of what gives our lives their worthwhileness.

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Anthem of the Universal

One cosmic brotherhood,
One universal good,
    One source, One sway,
One law beholding us,
One purpose molding us,
One life enfolding us
    In love alway.

Anger, resentment, hate
Long made us desolate,
    Their reign is done.
Race, color, creed and caste,
Fade in the dreamy past,
Man wakes to learn at last,
    All life is One.

Walter Scott

ONE

JULY 1954

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ONE is published monthly by New Christian Books, 95 Argyle Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia. By subscription only. 12 issues $3.25. Checks and money orders payable to **New Christian Books. No agents.**

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